

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 HELSIN 01051 01 OF 02 241724Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 ACDA-19 SIL-01 LAB-06 OMB-01

TRSE-00 DRC-01 /129 W

----- 028377

P R 241530Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7494

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 1051

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, UR, FI

SUBJECT: CALUMNY AMONG COMRADES: FINNISH COMMUNIST

KETTLE BOILS OVER

SUMMARY: ON THE EVE OF 30-YEAR CELEBRATIONS BY THE
FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY (SKP) AND ITS POLITICAL
FRONT-ORGANIZATION, THE SKDL, THE INTERNECINE WARFARE
BETWEEN THE SKP'S "LIBERAL" AND "STALINIST" FACTIONS
HAS HIT THE FRONT PAGES OF MOST FINNISH NEWSPAPERS
AS A RESULT OF REVELATIONS IN SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS OF
DISCUSSIONS HELD BY THE SKP AND CPSU LEADERSHIPS.
THIS BREACH OF COMMUNIST PARTY DISCIPLINE WAS FURTHER
EXASPERBATED WHEN ARVO HAUTALA, LONG TIME SKP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER AND SECOND CHAIRMAN OF THE
FINNISH TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION, PUBLICLY ATTACKED
THE STALINIST LEADER SINISALO FOR FALSIFYING THE SKP
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HELSIN 01051 01 OF 02 241724Z

SITUATION TO THE CPSU LEADERSHIP. HAUTALA HAS BEEN

TAKEN TO TASK FOR BREAKING COMMUNIST PARTY RULES BY PRAVDA, THE SKP LEADERSHIP AND POLITBURO, AS WELL AS THE STALINISTS. THE ISSUES OF THE SERIOUS INTERNAL SKP SPLIT AND THE STALINIST TAKE-OVER EFFORTS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT OUT INTO THE OPEN. THE EFFECT MAY BE TO FORCE THE MAJORITY "LIBERAL" FACTION INTO GREATER ACTIVITY WHICH COULD LEAD TO A DEEPER SPLIT IN THE SKP, ALTHOUGH MANY ATTEMPTS TO PAPER OVER DIFFERENCES WILL STILL BE MADE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE LONG-SIMMERING DISPUTE WITHIN THE RANKS OF FINNISH COMMUNISTS HAS BOILED OVER ONTO THE FRONT PAGES OF THE NEWSPAPERS. THE MAN WHO TURNED UP THE HEAT WAS ARVO HAUTALA, SECOND CHAIRMAN OF THE FINNISH TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (SAK) AND A MEMBER OF FINNISH COMMUNIST PARTY (SKP) CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HAUTALA, WHO IS ALIGNED WITH THE "LIBERAL" MAJORITY FACTION OF THE SKP, LAUNCHED A DIRECT ATTACK ON THE LEADER OF THE SKP'S MINORITY "STALINIST" WING, TAISTO SINISALO, IN A MAY 9 PUBLIC STATEMENT. HAUTALA ACCUSED SINISALO OF FALSIFYING THE SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN FINLAND IN STATEMENTS SINISALO MADE AT A MEETING OF SKP AND CPSU LEADERS IN MOSCOW ON FEBRUARY 11. SPECIFICALLY HAUTALA CHARGED THAT SINISALO WAS ATTEMPTING TO UNDERMINE THE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SAK AND THE CENTRAL FEDERATION OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS (AUCCTU) AND THEREBY ENDANGERING FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. SINISALO WAS ALSO GUILTY OF SLANDERING THE FINNISH PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE (SKDL), THE FRONT ORGANIZATION THROUGH WHICH THE SKP PARTICIPATES IN PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS.

2. HAUTALA'S CHARGES WERE PROMPTED BY THE APRIL 21 PUBLICATION IN A STOCKHOLM NEWSPAPER OF DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING THE CONVERSATIONS HELD DURING THE 11-13 FEBRUARY SKP-CPSU MEETINGS IN MOSCOW. THE DOCUMENTS CONTAIN PRESENTATIONS OF THE SITUATION IN FINLAND BY THE RIVAL FINNISH COMMUNIST LEADERS--SKP CHAIRMAN AARNE SAARINEN OF THE "LIBERALS" AND

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HELSIN 01051 01 OF 02 241724Z

SINISALO --AS WELL AS MIKHAIL SUSLOV'S REPLY THAT PARTY UNITY MUST BE RESTORED AND PARTY DISCIPLINE OVER FRONT ORGANIZATIONS TIGHTENED. SUSLOV ALSO WARNED THE FINNISH COMMUNISTS AGAINST ENTERING A RULING COALITION. ONE PRESS INTERPRETATION TAKES THIS TO MEAN THAT SHOULD AVOID ASSOCIATING THEMSELVES WITH THE PRESENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC-LED GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES AND INSTEAD TO CONCENTRATE ON EXPLOITING

WORKING-CLASS DISCONTENT AND DISCREDITING THE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

3. THE APRIL 21 REVELATIONS AROUSED WIDE COMMENT
WITHIN FINLAND. SUSLOV'S INSTRUCTIONS SEEMED TO GIVE
GREATER WEIGHT TO THE STALINIST FACTION OF THE
SKP WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED SAARINEN'S EFFORTS
OF THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF TO FIND SOME GROUNDS FOR
COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. THE STALINISTS
HAVE BEEN ON THE OFFENSIVE IN THE SKP INTERNAL
STRUGGLE AND HAUTALA'S ACTION WAS DESIGNED TO REGAIN
SOME INITIATIVE FOR THE LIBERAL FACTION. HIS
STATEMENT PROVOKED THE PREDICTABLE STORM OF
PROTEST FROM SINISALO INCLUDING PERSONAL INVECTIVE
AGAINST HAUTALA. HAUTALA FOUND SUPPORT FROM MANY
"LIBERAL" LEADERS AND ALENIOUS, THE NON-COMMUNIST LEADER OF THE
SKDL. THE SKP'S POLITBURO ISSUED A
STATEMENT CRITICIZING HAUTALA FOR IGNORING PARTY
PROTOCOL AND FOR DAMAGING PARTY UNITY. THE FINNISH
PRESS COVERED THE CHARGES AND COUNTER CHARGES IN
EXHAUSTIVE DETAIL.

4. ON MAY 18 PRAVDA JOINED THE FRAY PUBLISHING AN
ARTICLE OVER THE SIGNATURE OF I. ALEXANDROV
CRITICIZING HAUTALA'S BEHAVIOR. IT ACCUSED HIM OF
SABOTAGING THE INJUNCTIONS TO PROMOTE PARTY UNITY
AND IMPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO BASIC SPLIT OR ORGANIZED
OPPOSITION IN THE SKP. PRAVDA ALSO TURNED THE TABLES
ON HAUTALA AND ACCUSED HIM OF TRYING TO DAMAGE
FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS.

5. THE PRAVDA ARTICLE SPARKED FURTHER COMMENT.
THE SKDL'S ALENIOUS POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS UNFAIR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HELSIN 01051 01 OF 02 241724Z

OF PRAVDA TO CRITICIZE HAUTALA FOR BETRAYING THE
CONFIDENCE OF INTERNAL COMMUNIST DISCUSSIONS. THE
STALINISTS WERE GUILTY OF THE SAME FAULT BY CIRCU-

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 HELSIN 01051 02 OF 02 241811Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 NIC-01 ACDA-19 SIL-01 LAB-06 OMB-01

TRSE-00 DRC-01 /129 W

----- 029059

P R 241530Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7495

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HELSINKI 1051

LATING THE MOSCOW DOCUMENTS AROUND FINLAND TOGETHER WITH THEIR OWN INTERPRETATIONS THEREOF. NON-COMMUNIST SKDL MP ILKKA-CHRISTIAN BJORKLUND WAS EVEN MORE DIRECT IN HIS CRITICISM OF THE PRAVDA ARTICLE. BJORKLUND SAID IT IS VERY CLEARLY BASED ON FALSE INFORMATION AND THAT IT IS RIDICULOUS TO IMPLY THAT THE EXISTENCE OF AN ORGANIZED OPPOSITION WITHIN THE SKP IS AN INVENTION OF HAUTALA. EVERYONE IN FINLAND KNOWS THAT THE STALINIST GROUP HAS BEEN SUCH AN ORGANIZED OPPOSITION FOR YEARS. THE STALINISTS FOR THEIR PART VIEWED THE PRAVDA ARTICLE AS A PLEA FOR PARTY UNITY. OTHERS, HOWEVER, VIEWED IT AS SUPPORT FOR THE STALINISTS. HAUTALA HIMSELF DECLINED COMMENT AT FIRST AND THEN ISSUED A STATEMENT ON MAY 22 (WHICH WAS NOT PUBLISHED UNTIL MAY 24) IN WHICH HE SAID HE DID NOT REPLY TO THE ARTICLE BECAUSE DOING SO WOULD VIOLATE THE OBLIGATION OF COMMUNIST CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HELSIN 01051 02 OF 02 241811Z

PARTIES NOT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. HAUTALA REGARDS THE VIEW OF THE CPSU ON HIS STATEMENT AS AN INTERNAL MATTER OF THE CPSU. HE SAID IT WAS TIME TO MOVE THE DISPUTE INSIDE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY.

6. THE HAUTALA AFFAIR HAS HAD AND WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON RELATIONS AMONG FINLAND'S COMMUNISTS. IT IS UNLIKELY TO PROVOKE A FORMAL SPLIT OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND SHOULD PROBABLY BE REGARDED AS AN EFFORT BY THE LIBERAL FACTION TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IN THE INTERNAL DEBATE WHICH HAS BEEN LARGELY ABANDONED TO THE STALINISTS IN THE RECENT PAST. THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION AS TO WHETHER HAUTALA ACTED ALONE OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH AND AT THE BEHEST OF THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. HAUTALA HIMSELF PUBLICLY STATED THAT HE ACTED ON HIS OWN BEHALF. A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT SOURCE IN THE SAK OBSERVED THAT HAUTALA ACTED MORE AS A TRADE UNION-IST THAN AS A COMMUNIST. IT IS QUITE EVIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAIN IMPACT OF HIS ACTION HAS BEEN IN THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY RATHER THAN THE TRADE UNIONS.

7. WHEN EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHE CALLED ON HAUTALA MAY 22 THE LATTER GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF A MAN PLEASED WITH HIMSELF. HE SAID THAT HE HAD FORESEEN THE DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT WITH CONSIDERABLE ACCURACY AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN SURPRISED BY THE DEVELOPMENTS. HE DESCRIBED THE STATEMENT HE HAD JUST GIVEN TO THE PRESS AND SAID THE HE EXPECTED THE CONTROVERSY TO DIE DOWN AS THE SKP AND SKDL HELD THEIR SEPARATE 30TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS ON JUNE 1 AND 2. HE SAID HE EXPECTED THE DEBATE TO BE RESUMED IN THE FALL HOWEVER. ASKED WHETHER HE HAD INDEED CONSULTED WITH HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE LIBERAL WING OF THE PARTY BEFORE MAKING HIS STATEMENT, HAUTALA ADMITTED THAT THEIR CONCERN ABOUT SINISALO'S REMARKS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HELSIN 01051 02 OF 02 241811Z

HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN GREAT DETAIL BUT THAT HIS ACTION IN MAKING A PUBLIC STATEMENT HAD BEEN ENTIRELY HIS OWN DECISION AND MADE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ANYONE ELSE IN THE PARTY. HAUTALA WAS ALSO ASKED HOW HE FELT ABOUT THE CHARGE THAT HE, RATHER THAN SINISALO, WAS GUILTY OF DAMAGING FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. HE REPLIED THAT SINISALO'S CALUMNY COULD NO LONGER BE TOLERATED AND THAT IF ALLOWED TO GO UNCHALLENGED THE FESTERING SORE UNDERNEATH THE SURFACE WOULD BE MORE DAMAGING TO FINNISH-SOVIET RELATIONS THAN BRINGING THE ISSUE INTO THE OPEN. THIS HAD BEEN HIS CHIEF PURPOSE: TO PROVOKE DEBATE AND TO EXPOSE THE TACTICS OF THE STALINISTS.

IN A SEPARATE OBSERVATION ON THE ROLE OF THE
STALINISTS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT HAUTALA
OBSERVED THAT THEY HAD BEEN IN CONSTANT DECLINE
IN RECENT YEARS AND WERE A FAR LESS IMPORTANT FACTOR
WITHIN THE COMMUNIST PORTION OF THE TRADE UNION
MOVEMENT THAN WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF. IN VIEW OF
THE VIGOROUS STALINIST ATTACKS AND NUMEROUS WILDCAT
STRIKES THEY HAVE SPONSORED WITHIN THE LABOR
MOVEMENT IN RECENT MONTHS, HOWEVER, HAUTALA'S ACTION
MUST ALSO HAVE HAD THE INTENTION OF BRAKEING THIS
ACTIVITY.

8. ONLY TIME CAN MEASURE THE FALL-OUT OF THIS
LATEST ROUND OF INTERNECINE FIGHTING IN THE FINNISH
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. THE BREADTH OF SUPPORT HAUTALA
HAS RECEIVED HOWEVER WOULD INDICATE THAT THE LIBERALS
STILL HAVE A POWERFUL POISIPION AND ARE NOT IN
IMMEDIATE DANGER OF TAKE-OVER BY THE STALINISTS, A
BELIEF WHICH HAD BEEN GAINING GREATER AND GREATER
CREDENCE AMONG FINNISH POLITICAL CIRCLES.
KREHBIEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY UNITY, COMMUNISTS, PARTY FACTIONS, PARTY LEADERS, LABOR UNIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 MAY 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974HELSIN01051
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740130-0984
From: HELSINKI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740521/aaaaarrs.tel
Line Count: 298
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 APR 2002 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2002 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CALUMNY AMONG COMRADES: FINNISH COMMUNIST KETTLE BOILS OVER
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, UR, FI, SKP, (HAUTALA, ARVO), (SUSLOV, MIKHAIL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005